

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 112239
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

DRAFTED BY AF/S:JDAVIDOW;DH
APPROVED BY AF - WSCHAUFEELE
AF - WEDMONDSON
AF/S:DKEOGH
S/P - MSPIEGEL
S/S- FWISNER
S/S-O:AWOTTO

-----170025Z 029797 /63

O 162307Z MAY 77 ZFF6
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 112239

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS: GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

LUSAKA FOR AMBASSADOR LOW ONLY
LISBON FOR S/P LAKE - V.P'S PARTY

1. THE FOLLOWING ARE GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS AND POINTS TO
BE MADE IN YOUR INITIAL MEETING WITH GRAHAM CONCERNING
THE TACTICS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. WE WILL AWAIT FURTHER
REPORTING FROM THE FIELD BEFORE DETERMINING WHETHER
ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE IN RELATION TO SPECIFIC DEVELOPMENTS,
E.G. THIS WEEKEND'S FLAP OVER RHODESIAN INTENTIONS AND
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KAUNDA'S PIQUE AT BRITISH, IS NECESSARY.

2. AS THE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE ASSIGNED TO WORK CLOSE-
LY WITH THE HEAD OF THE BRITISH CONSULTATIVE GROUP YOU
SHOULD PARTICIPATE AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE IN THE WORK OF
THE GROUP, TRAVELLING WITH IT TO ALL POINTS INCLUDING
SALISBURY. YOU SHOULD ENDEAVOR TO MEET WITH EACH OF THE

NATIONALIST LEADERS AND SMITH EITHER JOINTLY WITH GRAHAM OR SEPARATELY DEPENDING UPON THEIR PREFERENCES. IN YOUR INITIAL MEETINGS YOU SHOULD MAKE CLEAR OUR ROLE IN THIS CONSULTATIVE PHASE, DRAWING UPON THE TALKING POINTS IN

STATE 104968 WITH THE NATIONALISTS AND STATE 104966 WITH SMITH. LATTER MESSAGE BEING REPEATED TO YOU. IN ALL INSTANCES YOU SHOULD DEFLECT QUESTIONS ABOUT POSSIBLE U.S. CO-SPONSORSHIP OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE BY NOTING THAT CONSULTATIONS HAVE NOT YET PROGRESSED FAR ENOUGH TO DISCUSS THE DETAILS AND MODALITIES OF A POSSIBLE CONFERENCE.

3. ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE WILL BE SENT TO YOU AS NECESSARY AND AS YOU REQUEST. HOWEVER, AS OUR REPRESENTATIVE ON THE SCENE YOU WILL OFTEN BE CALLED UPON TO EXERCISE YOUR OWN JUDGEMENT AND MAKE DECISIONS WITHOUT REFERENCE TO WASHINGTON. NEVERTHELESS, THE DEPT. DOES EXPECT AS DETAILED AND TIMELY REPORTING AS POSSIBLE.

4. YOUR FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS WITH GRAHAM WILL BE TO DETERMINE A COURSE OF ACTION AND AGREE ON TACTICS FOR THE INITIAL PHASE OF THE CONSULTATIONS. THE BRITISH HAVE PRESENTED US WITH A TACTICS PAPER (REPEATED TO YOU) WHICH YOU SHOULD DISCUSS WITH GRAHAM, DRAWING ON THE FOLLOWING TALKING POINTS AS NECESSARY:

-- THE U.S. AND THE U.K. HAVE WORKED CLOSELY FOR THE PAST YEAR IN OUR JOINT SEARCH FOR A RHODESIAN SETTLE-
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PAGE 03 STATE 112239

MENT. WE ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THIS CLOSE COOPERATION THROUGH THE WORK OF THIS GROUP. WE HAVE READ YOUR DRAFT TACTICS PAPER AND ARE IN AGREEMENT WITH YOUR GENERAL APPROACH, BUT WOULD LIKE TO OFFER THE FOLLOWING POINTS IN REFERENCE TO THE DOCUMENT.

-- WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT IS ACCURATE TO DESCRIBE MY ROLE AS ONE WHO WILL "LEAD JOINTLY A US/UK CONSULTATIVE GROUP". I WILL ASSIST IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE, BUT IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD BY ALL THAT THE GROUP IS A UK ENTITY, WHICH MR. GRAHAM WILL LEAD, AND WITH WHICH I WILL BE WORKING CLOSELY AS WE CARRY OUT OUR JOINT--OR OCCASIONALLY PARALLEL--CONSULTATIONS.

-- WE AGREE THAT WE MAKE IT CLEAR TO ALL PARTIES FROM THE OUTSET THAT TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT AND TO AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION, A FUTURE CONSTITUTION MUST BE BASED ON A SYSTEM OF DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS, WITH UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE, AND SHOULD

INCLUDE A JUSTICIABLE BILL OF RIGHTS.

-- THE IDEA OF SUBMITTING A QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE NATIONALISTS AND SMITH HAS CERTAIN DISADVANTAGES. IT

WILL OPEN THE UK TO THE CHARGE ONCE AGAIN THAT IT IS RELUCTANT TO PLACE ITS OWN PROPOSALS ON PAPER, WHICH HAS CONSISTENTLY RANKLED THE NATIONALISTS. FURTHER, ONCE POSITIONS ARE COMMITTED TO PRINT, THEY TEND TO BECOME SET IN CONCRETE, MAKING AMENDMENT OR WITHDRAWAL DIFFICULT.

-- WE PROPOSE INSTEAD, THAT FOR OUR OWN (US-UK) PURPOSES WE IDENTIFY THE ISSUES THAT MUST BE DEALT WITH IN A CONSTITUTION AND IN OUR INITIAL CONSULTATIONS ENGAGE IN GENERAL DISCUSSIONS OF THESE ISSUES. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT PRODUCED A FAIRLY DETAILED CONSTITUTIONAL
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PAGE 04 STATE 112239

PROPOSAL AT GENEVA, AND THIS COULD FORM THE BASIS OF CONVERSATIONS WITH THEIR REPRESENTATIVES. WE WOULD SUGGEST INFORMING THE PRINCIPAL PARTIES THAT AFTER THE INITIAL CONVERSATIONS THE BRITISH WILL PRODUCE A DRAFT PAPER OUTLINING AREAS OF AGREEMENT AND DISAGREEMENT FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION.

-- WE AGREE THAT THE ISSUE OF CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES, INCLUDING THE ENTRENCHMENT OF CERTAIN KEY CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS, SHOULD BE DISCUSSED IN THE INITIAL CONTACTS WITH THE NATIONALISTS. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THE SUBJECT MUST BE RAISED CAREFULLY SO AS NOT TO PROMPT MISUNDERSTANDING THAT THERE IS AN ATTEMPT AFOOT TO PROTECT WHITE PRIVILEGE.

-- THE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS RELATING TO INTERNAL SECURITY DURING A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND BEYOND, AS WELL AS THE STRUCTURE OF THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS SHOULD BE LEFT TO A LATER STAGE IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THEORETICALLY, ONCE AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES THERE WILL BE A GREATER WILL TO CONSIDER DISPASSIONATELY THE TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS.

-- WE ASSUME THAT IN ADDITION TO THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, WE WILL ALSO KEEP THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT INFORMED OF THE NEGOTIATIONS' PROGRESS VIA OUR EMBASSIES IN CAPE TOWN.

5. AUTHORIZATION TO COVER NECESSARY TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE CABLED SEPARATELY. CHRISTOPHER

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ORIGIN NODS-00

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APPROVED BY UNA:AFHOLLOWAY

AF:WESCHAUFLE

S/S:LMACFARLANE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 112239

NODIS

FOR AMB YOUNG'S PARTY

FOL RPT STATE 112239 ACTION WHITE HOUSE 17 MAY 77 QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 112239

NODIS

FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM SECSTATE WASHDC DATED MAY 16, 1977

SENT LUSAKA INFO LISBON IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 112239

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RH, UK

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LISBON FOR S/P LAKE - V.P'S PARTY

1. THE FOLLOWING ARE GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS AND POINTS TO BE MADE IN YOUR INITIAL MEETING WITH GRAHAM CONCERNING THE TACTICS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. WE WILL AWAIT FURTHER REPORTING FROM THE FIELD BEFORE DETERMINING WHETHER ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE IN RELATION TO SPECIFIC DEVELOPMENTS, E.G. THIS WEEKEND'S FLAP OVER RHODESIAN INTENTIONS AND KAUNDA'S PIQUE AT BRITISH, IS NECESSARY.

2. AS THE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVE ASSIGNED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE HEAD OF THE BRITISH CONSULTATIVE GROUP YOU SHOULD PARTICIPATE AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE IN THE WORK OF THE GROUP, TRAVELLING WITH IT TO ALL POINTS INCLUDING SALISBURY. YOU SHOULD ENDEAVOR TO MEET WITH EACH OF THE NATIONALIST LEADERS AND SMITH EITHER JOINTLY WITH GRAHAM OR SEPARATELY DEPENDING UPON THEIR PREFERENCES. IN YOUR INITIAL MEETINGS YOU SHOULD MAKE CLEAR OUR ROLE IN THIS CONSULTATIVE PHASE, DRAWING UPON THE TALKING POINTS IN

STATE 104968 WITH THE NATIONALISTS AND STATE 104966 WITH SMITH. LATTER MESSAGE BEING REPEATED TO YOU. IN ALL INSTANCES YOU SHOULD DEFLECT QUESTIONS ABOUT POSSIBLE U.S. CO-SPONSORSHIP OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE BY NOTING THAT CONSULTATIONS HAVE NOT YET PROGRESSED FAR ENOUGH TO DISCUSS THE DETAILS AND MODALITIES OF A POSSIBLE CONFERENCE.

3. ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE WILL BE SENT TO YOU AS NECESSARY AND AS YOU REQUEST. HOWEVER, AS OUR REPRESENTATIVE ON THE SCENE YOU WILL OFTEN BE CALLED UPON TO EXERCISE YOUR OWN JUDGEMENT AND MAKE DECISIONS WITHOUT REFERENCE TO WASHINGTON. NEVERTHELESS, THE DEPT. DOES EXPECT AS
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-- WE AGREE THAT WE MAKE IT CLEAR TO ALL PARTIES FROM THE OUTSET THAT TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT AND TO AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION, A FUTURE CONSTITUTION MUST BE BASED ON A SYSTEM OF DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS, WITH UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE, AND SHOULD INCLUDE A JUSTICIABLE BILL OF RIGHTS.

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PAGE 01 STATE 112239
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APPROVED BY:S/S-O:AWOTTO
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P 170500Z MAY 77 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO WHITE HOUSE PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 112239

NODIS
FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

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5. AUTHORIZATION TO COVER NECESSARY TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE CABLED SEPARATELY. CHRISTOPHER UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

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Concepts: INSTRUCTIONS, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, BRIEFING MATERIALS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, AMBASSADORS MEETINGS, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION, CAT-A
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 16-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: JDAVIDOW:DH
Enclosure: FOR AMBASSADOR LOW ONLY
Executive Order: GS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: P840070-0595, P800020-1804, N770003-0383
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
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Line Count: 530
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Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
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Message ID: f744be92-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 10
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Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY, NODIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
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Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2500058
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CHANGED> GWR 20040428
Subject: RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS: GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS
TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, RH, UK, US
To: LUSAKA LISBON
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/f744be92-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
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